

the gradual institutionalization of democratic practices and liberties. The new pessimists criticize the simplistic view that elections are sufficient to make a country free. But they commit the same fallacy, failing to recognize that democratization is a process of transition, not an instant transformation to a new order.

The new pessimists seem inclined to rush to the judgment that elections are the primary cause of the problems besetting the new democracies, and to believe that the holding of all those elections is a product of U.S. policy. Both these propositions are false.

The problem with elections, it is said, is that they empower majorities that may favor policies motivated by ethnic or religious intolerance or by short-term economic interests. This is a danger, but what is the alternative? The critics tend to suggest some version of what might be called "liberal nondemocracy"—an unelected government that preserves political stability, promotes economic development, observes the rule of law and generally respects the rights of its subjects.

In theory such a benevolently authoritarian government might be preferable to a corrupt and illiberal democracy. But where can we find one in the real world? The critics cite very few contemporary examples. Mr. Kaplan lavishes praise on the temporary, technocratic government of Pakistan's appointed premier Moeen Qureshi, named to the post after the army forced out his elected predecessor in 1993. Mr. Qureshi served for just three months—hardly a model for long-term stability or widespread emulation. Mr. Zakaria's prime examples are 19th-century European constitutional monarchies that restricted suffrage and Hong Kong under British rule—not exactly a practical vision as we look toward the 21st century.

Proponents of liberal nondemocracy fail to recognize that there is a reason why electoral democracy and liberalism, though sometimes at odds, usually tend to be found together. Liberalism derives from the view that individuals are by nature free and equal, and thus that they can be legitimately governed only on the basis of consent. The historical working-out of this principle inevitably "democratized" Europe's constitutional monarchies, just as it later undermined colonialism. Even if "first liberalism, then democracy" were the preferred historical sequence, today a nondemocratic government would be hard put to find a solid basis for its legitimacy—and thus also for its stability—while it goes about the task of liberalization.

Moreover, the new pessimists overlook the close connection between elections and rights. Elections, if they are to be free and fair, require the observance of a substantial body of rights—freedom of association and expression, for example, and equal access to the media. The pessimists fear that elections will undermine rights by legitimizing illiberal regimes. But elections, if they are truly competitive, tend to arouse citizens to insist upon their rights and upon the accountability of elected officials. The process makes government more subject to public scrutiny.

The spread of democracy abroad is the result not of American policy or propaganda, but of demands by peoples worldwide. Whether this demand springs from human nature or from global communications and the unparalleled current prestige of democracy, people almost everywhere want to have a say about who their rulers are. On what basis shall we deny them? Mr. Kaplan suggests that electoral democracy is somehow responsible for the problems of places like Russia, Afghanistan and Africa today. This is plainly

absurd. If democracy is the problem, why wasn't Africa flourishing during the 1970s and 1980s, when the continent had but a handful of democracies?

ELECTIONS ARE NOT ENOUGH

None of this is meant to deny the important—though hardly unfamiliar—insight that elections are not enough. Many of the new democracies have performed poorly with respect to accountability, the rule of law and the protection of individual rights. Helping electoral democracies become liberal democracies is certainly in the interests both of the U.S. and of the countries that we assist.

But we are more likely to provide such assistance if we view elections as an opportunity to work for the expansion of rights, rather than an obstacle to it. As countries lacking the usual prerequisites attempt to liberalize and improve their democracies, it would be foolish not to expect serious problems. But it would be even greater folly to believe that authoritarianism is the solution.

TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM RUSSELL KELLY, FOUNDER OF KELLY SERVICES

HON. SANDER M. LEVIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 3, 1998

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the memory of Mr. William Russell Kelly, founder of Russell Kelly Office Service, and founder of this modern temporary help industry. Mr. Kelly died Saturday, January 3 at his home in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. He was 92.

In 1946, single-handedly, Russ Kelly founded a new industry in a Detroit storefront. It began as an accommodation to employers to fill in for vacationing or sick employees, and also to supplement regular staff during short-term workloads. In the early days most of the temporary employees were women secretaries, hence the name "Kelly Girls" soon became a trademark around the world. Society has moved far beyond this confined role for women and so has the company; today, tens of thousands of professional and technical women and men have joined others in Kelly Services.

Beginning as a fledgling company totaling \$848.00 in sales in its first year, Kelly Services has grown today to a Fortune 500 and a Forbes 500 company, with annual sales approaching \$4 billion. Annually, this Troy, Michigan-based company provides the services of more than 750,000 of its employees through more than 1500 company offices in 50 states and 16 countries.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in honoring the ingenuity and the memory of this entrepreneurial pioneer. Indeed, when Russ Kelly was asked how he wanted to be remembered, he said, "Only as a pioneer."

I extend my sincere sympathy to Russell Kelly's wife, Margaret, his son, Terence E. Adderley, who joined the company in 1958 and became its President in 1967 and who has now succeeded Mr. Kelly as Chairman of the Board of the Company, his daughter-in-law, Mary Beth and his six grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren.

A TRIBUTE TO DAVE MOORE

HON. JIM RAMSTAD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 3, 1998

Mr. RAMSTAD. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to a true pioneer in broadcasting and television journalism.

These are very sad days in Minnesota, as a true legend has passed from our midst. No one who has called Minnesota home for the past half century will ever forget Dave Moore of WCCO Television in Minneapolis, who died on Wednesday, January 28, 1998.

Dave Moore was much, much more than a television news anchor. His standard-setting ethics, keen wit, astute observations, lyrical prose, sheer longevity, inspiring work ethic and unique, curmudgeonly demeanor helped to define Minnesota for all of us who absolutely had to be home for the 6 and 10 p.m. news. His background in theater gave him a special talent few of today's journalists possess: the ability to touch viewers by conveying his feelings.

Mr. Speaker, Dave was a humble man, full of self-effacing humor, never one to overrate his importance in our lives. "I am a very lucky guy . . . I have one marketable talent," he once said, "reading out loud."

For 47 wonderful years on Channel 4, WCCO-TV, Dave gave us the news. On newscasts from 1957 until 1991, he was there every day.

Late on Saturday nights, you were absolutely un-Minnesotan if you weren't home for Moore's late-night "The Bedtime Nooz," a show full of cutting-edge humor that poked fun at current events and politicians.

An outsider trying to gauge Dave Moore's significance to Minnesotans needed only look at the front pages of newspapers last week. The tributes to Dave Moore have been poignant and powerful: grown people searching and yanking deep to pull up childhood memories—and producing tears mixed with laughter in our newspapers and on broadcasts across the dial.

Mr. Speaker, if you went back to just about any day—from television news' infancy in the 1950s to its slick, digitalized, distant relative here in the 1990s—you would find Moore dominating conversations, too. You would hear at lunch counters the ubiquitous query: "Did you hear what Dave said last night on the news?"

The Star Tribune wrote that, with Moore, it was "not a question of credibility, or expertise, or looks—certainly not looks. It's simply that Moore had a presence that inspired calm, trust and good will." The Pioneer Press said Dave Moore "was a kind of Midwestern comfort food—the meatloaf and mashed potatoes of broadcast . . . the heart behind the headlines."

Dave Moore was anything but slick, and that's why we loved him so much. He was trust personified, substance over style. His credibility was beyond reproach. But if you saw him at one of his favorite places out in public—a play, baseball game, movie—he was easily approachable. His diverse and widespread charitable efforts were inspiring. A truly fitting favorite was reading the newspaper to the blind.

This week, a Vietnam veteran called a radio station to pay his tribute to Dave Moore. This

vet said when he returned from the war, he had totally lost his sense of humor. He said he only started to laugh again when he tuned into Dave Moore.

Mr. Speaker, Dave Moore was much, much more than just your everyday anchorman. He was the man we welcomed into our homes every day and filled it with important facts, wit, perspective and the simple joys of being from Minnesota.

Dave Moore gave us great and priceless gifts. Our thoughts and prayers are with his wife Shirley and their wonderful family. Minnesota will never forget Dave. As one newspaper put it: "Journalism won't see his like again." And Minnesota won't see a friend like him again, either.

TRIBUTE TO LOUISE RENNE, SAN FRANCISCO'S OUTSTANDING CITY ATTORNEY

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 3, 1998

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, it is truly an honor for me to pay tribute to San Francisco City Attorney Louise Renne, who was recently cited in *California Lawyer* magazine as one of the state's top attorneys for 1997. To those of us who have known her and followed her career over the course of the last three decades, Louise is so much more than an outstanding solicitor: She is a fighter for the people of San Francisco, a crusader for the progressive values of fairness and equal rights and one of the most compassionate and decent public officials that I have had the privilege of knowing.

California Lawyer writes: "Think of a hot political issue that came up during the past year involving a city, and San Francisco City Attorney Louise Renne was probably center stage." For Louise, 1997 was indeed a successful year, as her participation in a \$1 billion-plus lawsuit forced Bank of America to admit its culpability in knowingly mishandling millions of dollars as trustee of San Francisco's municipal bond programs.

While this is a landmark achievement for the city, it serves as only one of many in Louise's remarkable career. Her commitment to public service has spanned decades, initially as a California deputy attorney general for eleven years, during which time she worked with the Sierra Club to stop clear-cutting at Redwood National Park and with the San Francisco Fire Department to ensure the hiring of more women and minorities. As president of the California Women Lawyers during the 1970's, she fought tirelessly for increased representation of women on the judicial bench. In her twelve years as City Attorney, she and her highly regarded staff have established a record of legal accomplishment and dedicated community activism that dwarfs contemporaries and predecessors alike.

One of Louise Renne's most recent and, in many respects, most significant battles has been her fight against Big Tobacco. In June 1996, at a time when many analysts and attorneys claimed that it would be folly to demand compensation from large tobacco companies for the billions of public dollars spent on treating tobacco-related illnesses, her office filed suit against these irresponsible corporations.

San Francisco was one of the first cities to stand up to Big Tobacco, but certainly not the last.

Following Louise's leadership, public officials began to speak out in overwhelming numbers, demanding that tobacco companies be held accountable for decades of deceit and outright lies. She has already scored one huge victory, negotiating a settlement with R.J. Reynolds that included \$1.5 million for city anti-smoking programs focusing on children and a ban on the use of the cartoon character Joe Camel forever in the State of California. She continues to make her voice, and the voices of the overwhelming majority of San Franciscans, heard on this vital issue, fighting for legislative initiatives which promise to reimburse cities and towns, restrict tobacco advertising and keep this addictive and deadly drug away from our children.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to have as my constituent and friend such as outstanding public servant. Congratulations to Louise Renne on being named by *California Lawyer* as one of the state's top attorneys for 1997, and congratulations to all San Franciscans for twice electing this outstanding woman as City Attorney.

TRIBUTE TO ISAAC AND VEOLA CHAMBERS, RUTHERFORD BOYD GASTON, SR., DR. BENJAMIN F. QUILLIAN, MICHAEL E. SMITH, AND LA'VERA ETHRIDGE-WILLIAMS

HON. GEORGE P. RADANOVICH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 3, 1998

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Isaac and Veola Chambers, Rutherford Boyd Gaston, Sr., Dr. Benjamin F. Quillian, Michael E. Smith, and La'Vera Ethridge-Williams for being selected the 1998 Portraits of Success program Honorees by KSEE 24 and Companies that Care. In celebration of African-American History Month, these five leaders were honored for their unique contributions to the betterment of their community.

Isaac and Veola Chambers were selected for the Portraits of Success award as a husband and wife team. They have lived in Madera since 1957 and have been blessed with nine children. Veola Chambers was a farm worker and nurse's aid until 1975. She then was hired by the Madera County Welfare Department as a social service aid. In 1977, she served as a peace officer for the Madera County Probation Department until 1995. Isaac Chambers served in the U.S. Army during the Korean War and was discharged in 1956. After his discharge he worked hard in the construction industry and in the fields. In 1968, he became the foreman for the United Vintners/Canadian Winery in Madera, where he worked until retirement in 1995. The Chambers have also worked hard to give back to the community by organizing food, clothing and toy drives for the needy. They organized Fresno's popular "Juneteenth Celebration" and have been very active with the Second Baptist Missionary Baptist Church. Isaac and Veola Chambers have truly been model citizens over the years through their strong dedi-

cation to children, family values, hard work, volunteerism and a commitment to church and God.

Mr. Rutherford "Bud" Gaston is one of Fresno's most highly distinguished African-American leaders. He achieved the rank of Second Lieutenant in five years of service with the U.S. Army. After his military service, Mr. Gaston enrolled at California State University, Fresno and obtained a degree in education. He later went on to obtain a Masters Degree in Educational Administration. Mr. Gaston had a distinguished teaching career in the Fresno Unified School District from 1953 to 1986. His passion for education is reflected by his lifetime involvement with community educational advocacy groups. Mr. Gaston founded Black Educators of Fresno in 1961, and was instrumental in Fresno's Desegregation Task Force during the mid-1970's. He has served as the President of United Black Men of Fresno for ten years and also kept active on several organizational boards, including the Fresno Metropolitan Museum, Chaffee Zoo, Boys & Girls Clubs of Fresno, St. Agnes Medical Center and the Kiwanis Club of Fresno. Mr. Gaston's hard work and leadership has earned him much appreciation from major civic, church and public agencies in Fresno.

Dr. Benjamin F. Quillian, Jr. has served as the Vice President for Administration for the California State University System since 1993. This position gives him the responsibility to oversee and plan the areas of financial management, plant operations, human resources, procurement, facilities planning, campus police, environmental health and utility management for the entire California State University System. He also chairs the Athletic Corporation Board of Directors and the Campus Planning Committee. Dr. Quillian has published numerous research articles dealing with affirmative action, the juvenile justice system, the status of black men in education, and more recently investment in information technology. His work will likely have a positive impact on many people for years to come.

Michael E. Smith began his career as a firefighter in 1978 with the Monterey Fire Department. In 1981, Mr. Smith joined the San Jose Fire Department and soon moved through the ranks to become Deputy Chief. He was then selected as the Fresno Fire Department Chief in 1994. Since then, he has started several innovative programs, such as "A Friend is Waiting." This program welcomes children or residents who feel threatened by strangers or a dangerous situation. Mr. Smith is married and has three children. I applaud his exceptional dedication and hard work.

La'Vera Ethridge-Williams is a dedicated community leader and highly successful business woman. Ms. Ethridge-Williams was born in Oklahoma and moved to Fresno to attend Fresno State University in 1945. In the mid-1960's, Ms. Ethridge-Williams recognized the enormous need for child care in West Fresno. Armed with this knowledge and vision, she opened her first child care facility in 1969. Today she operates fourteen child care centers in Fresno and surrounding cities. These facilities service over 1,000 children daily and employ more than 100 people. In addition to being highly successful in business, Ms. Ethridge-Williams has been very active in community work. Her hard work and commitment to help better the community has resulted in numerous awards.